



## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1852.

## NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION for 1852 will be held in the city of Boston, on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 28th and 29th, in the MELODEON, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., of Wednesday.

Let the anti-slavery men and women of New England, then, gather once more in their Annual Convention. Once more let them indicate to the long-suffering but now awakening land, to their guilty but hypocritical and Abolitionists, execrable and accursed. This, according to the fourteen, is the democratic mode of restoring the Union. The country has had some experience of that kind of democracy.

As we have remarked, these apostles of peace on certain terms, are full of denunciations of the administration. They say not a syllable of the democratic party which is in the Executive Councils in the days of Buchanan, or of the dispersion of arms, and army and navy, or make easy to the rebels the seizure of the public property, the fort, the arsenal, and the archives. All this is ignored, and the scrupulous restorationists strain their opinion to discern, in the struggle of the executive to defeat those schemes, some technical deviation from the letter of the law. The turpitude of the rebellion moves not their abhorrence; the plots and perjuries of all their conspirators are peccadilloes unworthy of notice. All their invective is reserved for others—for the President, and those who will not bow the knee to Baal!

They dwell upon the enormous taxes, the levying of which is rendered inevitable, if the rebellion is to be suppressed, and demand the restoration of the democratic party to power as the remedy for that. No intimation is given that party would not follow the policy of Buchanan's administration, and make peace with the rebels in the same way that he preserved it, by giving them absolute and supreme control of every department of the government.

III. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE SOUTH.

The South shall have all rights that are convenient, and all duties that are agreeable, to her, provided she cherishes and perpetuates slavery.

The inhabitants of the South shall have especially the right to employ at pleasure and to destroy two-legged property, as well as to annihilate whatever is dangerous to the same. They may, therefore, not only sell their own children, but also flog their slaves to death, and burn them alive, and tax and hang abolitionists.

Those who own the most slaves shall be the lords of the slaveless, and called to the dominion of the land.

Should they believe their dominion threatened, they may rebel, steal the arms of the country, plunder its public chests, and begin war. If they conquer, they shall subjugate the whole country; if they are beaten, they shall return as "brothers" to their previous position, and try their luck again at the fitting time.

Theirs they steal, play vandals, and murder, the greater claim they shall earn to forgiveness and respect, and the better security for their privileges, among which shall be especially the following:

They shall shoot down every one who makes use of free speech and a free press in behalf of liberty, and allow none to abide in the South who do not suit them.

They shall enjoy the postal service gratis, and have the first claim to the best positions in the army, navy, and administration.

They shall so construct the tariff as to secure the interests of their own productions at the expense of the North.

They shall cut off the heads of Northern captives, make of their skulls drinking-cups wherewith to toast the weal of the republic, and watch-chains of their bones to be worn on patriotic holidays.

They shall beat down Northern pillars of the people in Congress with bludgeons, and receive for the same especial consideration.

They shall discharge no debts and keep no promises.

They may practise high treason abroad as at home. If they get aid from foreigners, they shall receive a reward for their patriotic policy: if none, then they shall receive indemnification.

IV. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE NORTH.

The inhabitants of the North shall have, above all, the right and the duty to be agreeable and serviceable to the South. If the Southerner has no right, his Northern fellow-citizen shall stretch himself on the ground, and beg him not to feel constrained.

Attacks on slavery shall be regarded and punished as treason.

Fugitive slaves shall be hunted with hearty delight.

Abolitionists who employ free speech and a free press shall be mobbed, while Southerners shall everywhere write and speak as they please.

If the South begin war on the North, the latter shall put them to the sword. In consideration of which Northern soldiers shall be permitted to load their weapons as soon as they feel the Southern bullets in their bodies.

If the North catch Southern pirates and traitors, it shall treat them as guests, and send them back on their promising to entertain the greatest respect for their stupidity.

Should the South steal and destroy her money, arms, ships, and forts, she shall repair everything out of the pockets of her children, and her children's children.

Should the South not accomplish enough in her treason, the North shall put traitors at the head of her troops, and lead her sons to slaughter by appointment.

The more slaps the North receives from the South on the left cheek, the more readily shall she present the right cheek also.

She shall buy or conquer for the South new territories, whenever the latter has not domination enough for the expansion of slavery.

Should a rebellion in the South be suppressed, the North shall rebel for her.

If slavery cannot ruin the North, she shall ruin herself for slavery.

V. RIGHTS &amp; DUTIES OF THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLE.

The sovereign people exists for this—to elect representatives and officers who may govern and command at pleasure. It shall pay for what they slander, bleed when they open its veins, and sacrifice itself when they betray it. For it is sweet to pay for one's country, sweeter to die and perish for the same.

VI. DUTIES OF OFFICE-HOLDERS.

Office-holders, the President at their head, have the duty of guarding the rights of the Commonwealth and of securing the interests of the Republic, in default of which they shall be cashiered or imprisoned. Therefore, above all, they shall cause to be incarcerated without trial whoever disobeys them; subvert the free press by confiscation and closing of the mails; steal and defraud as they may be able; treat traitors as "brothers"; humble the republic abroad, and endanger its security by transactions with despots.

They shall act as lords of the people that choose them for servants, and need trouble themselves about no one else, if they only have on their side the priests, the slaveholders, and the despots.

They shall be entitled to re-election, if they are as stupid as possible, and to a national reward, if they are as wicked as possible. Should they succeed in utterly ruining the State, they shall be reckoned among the "Fathers of the Republic."—Transplanted for the Liberator from the German "Pionier."

THE "DEMOCRATIC" PRONOUNCEMENT AT WASHINGTON.

This is a labored eulogy of the democratic party, and an attack upon the present administration. In a time of civil war when the whole country is convulsed by the insurrection, which was concocted in the "democratic" cabinet of Mr. Buchanan, it might be expected that fourteen democratic members of Congress, addressing the people of the United States, would indicate their opinions of this gigantic treason, and would declare what specific measures they advised for its suppression. We look in vain for anything of that kind in this address.

They are sticklers for the Constitution; over and over they declaim upon that subject. They are professedly the charges against the administration. They are exhaustive in eulogy upon the principles and policy of the democratic party. But of this rebellion which their party brethren have set on foot, aimed at the very life of the Government and the Constitution, they have no sharper word of exclamation than "this unhappy civil war." Of course, they are not forgetful of that old image of terror to

political sucklings, ABOLITION. Their programme of "restoration" is brief. After urging the restoration of the democratic party to power, as the infallible road to the restoration of the Union, they lay down their specie thus:—

These men speak the dialect of that same "latter day democracy," under whose auspices forts, ships-of-war, navy yards, mints and custom-houses were placed at the disposal of conspirators and rebels. They propose to avenge the rage of Jeff Davis and his accomplices by offering up, under the odious name of "Abolitionism," whatever there is in the North of manhood, of principle, of hostility to the diffusion among themselves of the institution of slavery. They would yield to every arrogant demand of armed and bloody insurgents, propelling themselves in the dust, and cry, "Great is slavery; may its sway be universal, and its reign perpetual!" Those who refuse the like humiliation they would brand an Abolitionists, execrable and accursed. This, according to the fourteen, is the democratic mode of restoring the Union. The country has had some experience of that kind of democracy.

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I. CLASSIFICATION.

The United States shall be divided, 1, into sovereign States and the sovereign Confederacy; 2, into South and North.

II. RIGHTS OF THE SOVEREIGN STATES AND OF THE CONFEDERACY.

The States may manage their internal affairs to suit themselves, provided that by these are understood barbarous statutes, beastly manners, and cannibal actions. With these the government of the Confederacy is not to interfere; for what is not forbidden by the Constitution is permitted, and State sovereignty transcends national in matters of barbarism. But should single States decree regulations for the defence of freedom and humanity, these shall be subject to the approval of the national government.

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## LETTER FROM MRS. CUTLER.

Pontiac, Livingston Co., Ill., May, 1862.

Dear LIBERTOR:  
For a long time, it had seemed to me that in this part of the land, the fields were white for the harvest, and I had impatiently awaited necessary preliminaries to begin the work. The war now upon us has aroused the new and beautiful "Lawrence Church," in connection with the Society occupying the same, and were seasons of true refreshing to many, and we hope to all, present. The evening meetings were held in the vestry of the same church. SAMUEL BARRETT, of Concord, the President of the County Society, presided, and other members and friends were present from neighboring towns. GEORGE W. STACY, the minister of the Feltonville Society, PARKER PILLIBURG, of Concord, N. H., SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and A. H. WOOD, of Pepperell, each made addresses, earnest and fervent, appealing to the people to consider well the crisis of the nation, to look fully at its causes and its only remedy, and to gird themselves for the great work yet remaining to be done. The most entire attention was given to the appeals and arguments of the several speakers, and we have never been in a meeting where a more general and hearty agreement of the audience. The Chairman appointed Wm. Johnson, Wm. J. Greenly, and Alfred Cole, as said Committee, who subsequently reported the following preamble and resolutions:—

The following resolutions were offered and fully discussed:—

Resolved, That the momentous demands of the present hour, when a death conflict is waging between Slavery and Freedom, involving the existence of one nation, and the cause of Republican institutions everywhere, must impress on all genuine Abolitionists the importance of a faithful, persistent adherence to all former testimonies against the terrible slave system, and some other whom quite as unreasonable as a god. Still, the old fear of the negro, grounded on the nurse's assurance that if Johnny went out after the West from its dreamy tranquillity, and the cry of many an anxious heart has long been, "How can we bring to a successful termination a strife that is robbing us of our choicest young men, and making many a home desolate?"

The faithful efforts of the Chicago *Tribune*, more than any other paper, has given shape to the unexpressed feelings of all who had been distrusted slavery as a god. Still, the old fear of the negro, grounded on the nurse's assurance that if Johnny went out after the West from its dreamy tranquillity, and the cry of many an anxious heart has long been, "How can we bring to a successful termination a strife that is robbing us of our choicest young men, and making many a home desolate?"

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Friday afternoon, I went to Lexington, M'Lane Co., a flourishing little town on the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad. I had made no previous arrangements for that place, as I expected to have been captured here; but other arrangements conflicting, I went on to Lexington, procured the use of a church, gave notice in the schools, and turned to find, as I supposed, a generous-hearted friend. I called at the house of Dr. F., and learned that he was not the individual I had supposed, though bearing the same name. I apologized to his wife, explaining the object of my visit. She was formerly from Ohio, but had a sister, as I learned, connected by marriage with the "domestic institution." This was enough, so fatal is the virus of this disease, and her whole soul was corrupted by it. She said the colored people were a degraded, miserable race, unfit for anything but slavery, and they ought to remain where they were. I replied, that my acquaintance with colored people was limited, but so far as I had known them, they manifested the same capacity for improvement as the white race; that they were docile, easily educated by good example, and capable of acquiring the elements of science, whenever permitted the opportunity of schools. In Oberlin, I said, I had seen colored people as truly educated and accomplished as any of their fairer fellow-students. At this, all the bitterness of her nature was stirred, and she poured out the trials of her wrath upon Oberlin in quite tragic style. Said she, "Ohio ought to blush with shame at having such a degrading institution." I asked her if she had any personal acquaintance there. No, she had not, and she was glad she was not so disgraced. I assured her I knew Oberlin well, and it was the pride and glory of the State, and had done more for the true advancement of the world than any other institution of learning in the land. With a proud wave of the hand she said, "We will dismiss the subject." Resolved, That to arrest the present hostilities, by any proscriptive or arrangement which should give to slavery a longer life in the nation, now that it is the acknowledged cause of our calamities, would be at once so blind a policy, as well as reckless disregard of all the laws of Justice and Righteousness, as to make our ultimate overthrow as a nation as inevitable as it would be deserved, whatever temporary peace we might purchase at such fearful cost.

At the close, a vote was taken on these resolutions, and they were adopted unanimously, not a single hand or voice being raised in opposition. And it should be said that the majority of the persons present and voting were not professed Abolitionists or members of any Anti-Slavery Society. The vote may be considered an index of the prevailing opinion in the community where the meeting was held—a populous, industrious and intelligent community as can be found in any part of New England.

A number of subscribers were obtained to the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and a liberal spirit manifested in behalf of the cause.

SAMUEL BARRETT, President.  
SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Secretary pro tem.

W. J. GREENLY, Secretary.

EMANCIPATION JUBILEE.  
CELEBRATION BY THE COLORED PEOPLE OF NEW YORK.

The colored people of New York and the surrounding towns united in celebrating, on Monday, May 12th, the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. We avail ourselves of the *Tribune's* report of what was said and done:—

"The exercises of the day began by a well-attended prayer-meeting in Shiloh Presbyterian Church, at 5 o'clock in the morning. Throughout the day, every colored person from the adjacent towns paid contributions of colored people coming to join in the celebration.

At 3 o'clock the National flag was raised on the Shiloh Presbyterian Church, Prince street, in presence of several thousands of the citizens generally. Eloquent speeches were made on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Dyer, the Rev. John Downing, Sing Sing, the Rev. Mr. Berry, recently from Tennessee, and others. As the flag was thrown to the breeze, thirteen newly arrived contrabands from Virginia were taken under its protection.

In the evening, about 3,600 ladies and gentlemen assembled, or rather crowded into the great hall of the Cooper Institute. Mr. John Peterson, occupying the platform, and was supported by seventeen Vice Presidents and twelve Secretaries. The speakers were from Brooklyn, Williamsburg, Harlem, Astoria, Jamaica, Flushing, Sing Sing, Tarrytown, Hudson, Catskill, Albany, Troy, Newark, Paterson, Jersey City, and other places.

The platform were observed the Rev. Dr. Cheever, the Rev. Alfred Cookman, the Rev. Mr. Davis, Dexter, the Rev. Mr. Burleigh, the Rev. Mr. R. H. Gurney, the Rev. H. W. Wilson, James McCune Smith, M. D., George T. Downing, John J. Zoule, the Hon. C. Leigh, the Rev. C. B. Ray, Patrick H. Reason, S. P. Porter, Ransom F. Wake, the Rev. John Dungy, of Sing Sing, the Rev. Theodore D. Miller and Stephen Myers, of Albany, and the Rev. E. J. Andrews, of Newark.

There were opened by the Rev. JOHN T. RAYMOND in an appropriate and earnest prayer.

Mr. PETERSON, the Chairman, spoke at some length, setting forth the object of the meeting.

Mr. JOHN J. ZOULE offered a preamble and resolution, expressing gratitude for the act of emancipation in the District of Columbia, and recognizing it as the first dawn of light in the history of the nation.

The speaker then referred to the new beauty which the stars and stripes now assumed before all the nations of the earth; the folly of entertaining the slightest thought of colonizing the emancipated slaves.

He said that new slaves would present themselves for the freedom of the country, and that the country must be ready to answer the call of their country to stand up for the promotion of its interests, and that freedom had become national by the Congressional Act, passing the District of Columbia, the act of slaves of Mr. Lincoln's bill, prohibiting slavery in all the Territories of the United States, the advancement of public liberty, and the downfall of the Slave Power. They also deprecated any appropriation of the public money for the purpose of colonization, believing that the country could not at the present time spare it, and that it itself was gratuitous and uncalled for.

The Rev. HENRY HIGHLAND GARRET was received with great applause. Addressing the object of the progress of the Anti-Slavery Society, who have created a new and beautiful house, in which we assembled. We all felt it was "good to be there," and that, instead of laying aside our weapons of "truth and righteousness," now is the time—emphatically more so than ever—to urge the primary work of the Anti-Slavery cause. We must not, for a moment, be flattered or bewildered into the idea, that either by the whirlwind or the tempest, or by anything but "the still small voice," is our work to be fully done. No trust must be made with the guilty conscience of priest or politician; not even the appearance of compromise with those who rest on their arms, waiting for a millennium of liberty. The logic of events may aid us—the remainder of man's wrath may be restrained—but our work can never cease while man is hated for the color of his skin.

G. W. S.

REJOICING OVER THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Friday evening of last week, a large and enthusiastic meeting of our colored citizens was held in the 12th Baptist Church, South Street, to rejoice over emancipation in the District of Columbia.

The meeting was temporarily organized by the appointment of Rev. Mr. Grimes as President. The Committee on Permanent Organization reported the name of John S. Rock, Esq., as President, some twenty-five Vice Presidents, and four Secretaries. A Business Committee was appointed, who reported the following resolutions:—

Whereas, the Congress of the United States has passed an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, thus acknowledging the truth embodied in the Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are created free and equal; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the colored citizens of Boston and vicinity, would take this opportunity of offering our sincere thanks to Almighty God for this manifestation of His Divine pleasure, in causing the rulers of the nation to do justice to a portion of his oppressed and outraged people.

Resolved, That we tender to Congress and the President our heartfelt thanks for this act which frees the National Capital from the curse and sin of slavery.

Resolved, That Messrs. Wilson, Sumner, Wade and Hale of the Senate, and others who cooperated with them, and Messrs. Lovett, Stevens, and Potter of the House of Representatives, have our heartfelt thanks for their untiring labors in behalf of this act.

Resolved, That we extend to our emancipated brethren our most cordial sympathy in their new situation, and we pledge ourselves to aid them in developing

our own friends, the Kings, formerly of Cherry Valley, are residents in this village, and their influence is strongly felt, and will be likely to work great good for humanity here.

The cloud of war hangs dark and heavy over the land, but the bow of hope is upon its bosom.

Yours, in a blessed hope,

A. T. FOSS.

## QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE MIDDLESEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society held a quarterly meeting at Feltonville, on Saturday evening and Sunday, May 17th and 18th. The meetings on Sunday morning and afternoon were held in the West from its dreamy tranquillity, and the cry of many an anxious heart has long been, "How can we bring to a successful termination a strife that is robbing us of our choicest young men, and making many a home desolate?"

The resolutions were supported by John S. Rock,

Wm. Wells Brown, Leonard A. Grimes, John Oliver and others, and were adopted by a unanimous standing vote, amidst great cheering.

## THE LATE EMANCIPATION ACT.

There was a public meeting held by the people of color at the A. M. E. Church in the city of Terre Haute, Indiana, on Wednesday evening, May 7th, 1862, for the purpose of returning a tribute of thanks to Almighty God for the late act of emancipation in the District of Columbia. Rev. T. Strother was called to the chair, and Wm. J. Greenly was appointed Secretary. The Chairman called the house to order, and opened the exercises by reading a portion of the 11th chapter of the prophecy of the prophet Daniel, and singing and prayer. The object of the meeting was then stated by the Chairman, after which a committee of three was appointed by the Chairman to draw up a set of resolutions, expressive of the sentiments of the audience. The Chairman appointed Wm. Johnson, Wm. J. Greenly, and Alfred Cole, as said Committee, who subsequently reported the following preamble and resolutions:—

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States, at its present session, has passed an Act, which has also been signed by the President of the United States, on the 16th of April, 1862, freeing the District of Columbia from the curse of human slavery, and thereby emancipating and setting free all of our brethren in said District of Columbia; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the colored people of Terre Haute, do most heartily return our sincere thanks to God, in behalf of our brethren thus freed in said District of Columbia, for the inestimable boon of liberty which it is of

it is forever exterminated from our soil.

And whereas, the laws of war have, beyond all question, placed the immediate and entire abolition of slavery within the jurisdiction of the President of Congress, and of the Generals in command of the army in their respective districts; therefore,

Resolved, That we also feel grateful to the members of Congress for their untiring zeal in battling for the downfall of slavery and the triumph of freedom; that we invoke the blessings of the Almighty upon them and their labors, hoping that their days may be many and useful in the cause of humanity, that their numbers may increase rapidly, and that the time may not be far distant when the result of their labors may be seen in the final extinction of slavery throughout these United States.

Resolved, That we, the colored people of Terre Haute, do most heartily return our sincere thanks to God, in behalf of our brethren thus freed in said District of Columbia, for the inestimable boon of liberty which it is forever exterminated from our soil.

Resolved, That failing to do at once what the law of God and justice have always commanded, and the laws of men now so plainly authorize, and the condition of the country now so imperiously demands, we are forfeiting all right to the sympathy of other nations, forbidding all hope which the consciousness of a righteous cause would inspire, and are justly dooming ourselves, as a nation, to that inevitable overthrow from which no nation, great or small, has ever escaped, that based its institutions on injustice, cruelty and crime.

Resolved, That to arrest the present hostilities, by any proscriptive or arrangement which should give to slavery a longer life in the nation, now that it is the acknowledged cause of our calamities, would be at once so blind a policy, as well as reckless disregard of all the laws of Justice and Righteousness, as to make our ultimate overthrow as a nation as inevitable as it would be deserved, whatever temporary peace we might purchase at such fearful cost.

At the close, a vote was taken on these resolutions, and they were adopted unanimously, not a single hand or voice being raised in opposition. And it should be said that the majority of the persons present and voting were not professed Abolitionists or members of any Anti-Slavery Society. The vote may be considered an index of the prevailing opinion in the community where the meeting was held—a populous, industrious and intelligent community as can be found in any part of New England.

A number of subscribers were obtained to the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and a liberal spirit manifested in behalf of the cause.

SAMUEL BARRETT, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Secretary pro tem.

W. J. GREENLY, Secretary.

EMANCIPATION JUBILEE.

CELEBRATION BY THE COLORED PEOPLE OF NEW YORK.

The colored people of New York and the surrounding towns united in celebrating, on Monday, May 12th, the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. We avail ourselves of the *Tribune's* report of what was said and done:—

"The exercises of the day began by a well-attended

prayer-meeting in Shiloh Presbyterian Church, at 5 o'clock in the morning. Throughout the day, every

colored person from the adjacent towns paid contribu-

tions of colored people coming to join in the celebra-

tion.

At 3 o'clock the National flag was raised on the

Shiloh Presbyterian Church, Prince street, in pres-

ence of several thousands of the citizens generally.

Eloquent speeches were made on the occasion by the

Rev. Mr. Dyer, the Rev. John Downing, Sing

Sing, the Rev. Mr. Berry, recently from Tennessee,

and others. As the flag was thrown to the breeze,

thirteen newly arrived contrabands from Virginia

were taken under its protection.

In the evening, about 3,600 ladies and gentlemen

assembled, or rather crowded into the great hall of the

Cooper Institute. Mr. John Peterson, occupying

the platform, and was supported by seventeen Vice

Presidents and twelve Secretaries. The speakers were

from Brooklyn, Williamsburg, Harlem, Astoria, Jamaica, Flushing, Sing Sing, Tarrytown, Hudson, Catskill, Albany, Troy, Newark, Paterson, Jersey City, and other places.

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## The Liberator.

For the Liberator.

The following lines, with the accompanying note, at the date shows, were written some time ago, and during the life of the good and noble man they attempt, in part, to illustrate. They are now offered, for the first time, for publication to the *Liberator*, a journal which the deceased highly valued for its untiring devotion to the cause of the slave, and the oppressed everywhere.

HENRY D. THOREAU died at his home in Concord, Mass., May 6th, 1862, in the 45th year of his age.

New Bedford, May 11, 1862.

## WALDEN.

Here, once a poet most serenely lived,  
A poet and philosopher, forthwith,  
For in him both have joined, and greatly thrived,  
And found content before the God of Truth.

A plain set man, a man of culture rare,  
Who left an honest on old Harvard's walls;  
An honest man, in search of Nature's fate,  
The spot more rich where'er his shadow falls.

Near by the shore his cabin reared its head,  
With his own hands he built the simple dome,  
And here, alone, to thought and study wed,  
He found a genial, though a humble home.

From the scant produce of a neighboring field,  
Tilled by his hands, he got his honest bread;  
But Nature, for him, greater crops did yield,  
In rich abundance daily for him spread.

The woods, the fields, the lake, and all around,  
Both man, and beast, and bird, and insect small,  
In his keen mind a shrewd expression found—  
For truth and beauty he discerned in all.

A jurist learned in Nature's court supreme,  
A wise physician, priest, and teacher too,  
For whom each sphere reveals a ready theme,  
And wisdom is exalted, both old and new.

While others unto foreign lands have gone,  
And in old footsteps travelled far and wide,  
This man at home a richer prize hath won,  
From fresher fields, unknown to wealth and pride.

His own good limbs have borne him well about,  
Whose constant use hath made him stanch and strong,  
As many a lukeless wight hath proven out;  
And Concord soul in him hath found a tongue.

Henceforth her hills, her gently flowing stream,  
Her woods and fields, shall classic ground become,  
And e'en the village street with interest bear,  
Where one so nobly true hath found a home.

To Walden pond th' ingenuous youth shall hie,  
And mark the spot where stood the hermitage;  
But ye who seek, 'mid glittering scenes to vie,  
Let other haunts your vanity engage.

Go on, brave man! in thy own chosen way—  
How many ills of life thou dost escape!

Thy brave example others shall essay,  
And from thy lessons happier lives may shape.

Shall learn from thee to find a ready store  
Of choicer treasures spread before their eyes;  
For Nature ever keeps an open door,  
And bids a welcome to the good and wise.

New Bedford, Jan. 17, 1862.

D. R.

**HENRY D. THOREAU,** of Concord, Mass., author of "A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers," "Walden, or Life in the Woods," whose titles give but little indication of the vigor and original thought displayed in the learning contained within them; besides, a voluminous paper, scientific and literary—and, withal, a good abolitionist. Walden pond lies about one mile south of Concord.

## HENRY DAVID THOREAU.

Hiush the loud chant, ye birds, at eve and morn,  
And something plaintive let the robin sing;  
Gone is our Woodsman, leaving us forlorn,

Touching with grieve the glad aspect of Spring.  
Your whispering alleys he for other groves

Forsakes, and wanders now by fairer streams,—  
Ye not forgetful of his earlier loves,—

Ah, no! for so affectionately dreams.

THOREAU! 'twere shame to weep above thy grave,  
Or doubtfully thy soul's for flight pure;

Peace and Delight must there await the brave,  
And Love attend the loving, wise and true.

They well-kept vows our broken aims shall mend,  
Oft as we think on their great-hearted Friend!

Concord, May 6, 1862.

F. B. S.

**SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ., AT THE Anniversary of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, held in the Cooper Institute, May 7th, 1862.**

REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERINSON.

**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—**I take it that the mission of the Abolitionists, this summer, is to endeavor to guide the nation's steps in the untried path of the use of its war powers. We have had a Constitution for seventy years. We have passed through most of the phases of a life of peace. We have exhausted discussion, almost, in regard to the powers of the Executive and of Congress, in times of peace. We have never had a moment when, in any broad sense, the war power of Congress was called into existence, with any direction toward home affairs. Its foreign powers were exercised in the war of 1812, and in the Mexican war; but we have now a new phase of the question—civil war—one half of the nation against the other half; and it has taken us, as a people, about two months to come to the conclusion that this is a war. (Laughter.) Mr. Seward did not wake up to the conviction that we are at war for some three or four or six months. His statement to the European governments, that this difficulty would subside in ninety days, sixty, and that the condition of individual, in the Territories or the States, would be altered by the war, whatever the result might be, was based on the supposition that this is not a war, but merely a political difference, such as we had in the Hartford Convention times, 1812 or '14—such as we had in Missouri Compromise times, 1819—such as we had when Texas sent Adams and some score of conditors into one wing of the Capitol, to proclaim to the North that the time had come which justified, and, in their opinion, called for, a division of the Union—such as we had in 1850, when the compromise measures were finally passed. In the cabin of one of the national ships sent down to Norfolk to destroy the Navy Yard, there was a foreign-born officer, who, when he heard they had a year's munitions of war, six months' food, and two thousand cannon planted, and strong bulwarks, offered to take command of two companies, and keep that Navy Yard at least three months; to save six millions of dollars, and all the cannon the South has, that will not burst at the first discharge. (Laughter.) The West Point bred officer to whom he was speaking—the son-in-law of a distinguished American—took him down into the cabin, and said, in French—"You don't understand this matter; you are a stranger. This is no war, it is only a political difference. We shall settle it in a month or two. It will gratify the South to be allowed to see this destruction—a point of honor yielded to her. We had better surrender this yard; burn and scuttle what we need; we shall the sooner settle it." Oh, said the foreign officer, "I thought you were fighting: it was a mistake; very well." That was the mistake under which the whole nation rested for six or eight months.

Well, we ran away from Massachusetts. We gathered another army, and we fought some bloody and gallant fights, such as the world cannot, of late years, show many like. This continent was almost virgin soil—hardly a dozen spots marked by the hoof of the demon of war. At last, we have anchored alongside of Europe and South America. Hundreds of its valleys and mountains are marked with the progress of battle or its actual conflict; and, battle-stained, blood-soaked, we are to go down to posterity as like all other nations, emerging from battle. The Anti-Slavery enterprise was launched on the idea that we were a civilized people—that, as in the mother country, argument

could decide the question—that nineteen millions of Americans could lift the slave into liberty as easily as England did, without a drop of blood. In that day, orators spoke of peace, and poets sung of it. Sumner was first launched from a lawyer into a statesman by preaching peace on the fourth day of July to astounded Boston. Longfellow's exquisite verse was given to the Springfield Armory, wishing that its swords might be beaten into ploughshares. You remember it. We trusted in pupils, school-houses and books; we believed that the millennium of brains had come, not bullets. We were right, so far as the north of the Potomac was concerned: but we forgot that this live Norther, this nineteenth century, with its types and its ideas, was linked, like the man in the classic legend, to the dead carcass of the sixteenth century—with the barbarism, the half-development of the other side of the Potomac. The Jesuit said in Paris, two hundred years ago, "The only light fit to instruct the erring is the auto-de-fa of a man burnt for his heresy in opinion." We laughed at it, as a picture of the Sorbonne—dead and buried for two centuries. But a Northerner needed to travel only five hundred miles, any time within the last thirty years, to see his brother burned, for heresy of opinion, under the stars and stripes. The same barbarism, the same picture; and it is because we are tied to that barbarism, that we are obliged to abide to-day the arbitrament of battle—brute force. Brains can argue with brains, but brains cannot argue with brutes. When the bulls of the prairies rebel against man, he shoots them. So, when the brutes of the cane-brakes, or of the tobacco lands, or of the cotton islands, rebel against the men of the North, they cannot meet them with pupil nor school-house; they can only meet them with armies; and that is where the nation has been pushed by the necessity of the struggle.

I say, this new life needs that men should guide the nation's idea carefully in the new time and new crisis. The President is a very slow man; an honest man, but a slow-moving machine. (Laughter.) On the 4th day of March, 1861, he gave us his inaugural, based on the idea of universal conciliation; based on the idea, as Conway of Cincinnati said, "that he would like to have the Lord Almighty on his side, but he must have the State of Kentucky." (Laughter and applause.) Then we waited a year—a whole twelve-months—till the 7th of March, 1862—and all summed up in one word: This country will never know peace nor union until the South (using the word in the sense I have described) is annihilated, and the North is spread over it. I do not care where men go for the power. They may find it in the parchment—I do. I think, with Patrick Henry, with John Quincy Adams, with Gen. Cass, we have got ample constitutional powers; but if we had not, it would not trouble me in the least. (Laughter and applause.) I do not think a nation's life is locked up in a parchment. I think this is the momentous struggle of a great nation for existence and perpetuity. We have been planted as one; the normal idea of the nation is that it is to be one and indivisible. The mouth of the Mississippi belongs as much to Illinois as to Louisiana. A Massachusetts farmer, who sold one step at a time, took his five thousand or fifty thousand dollars, went out and bought prairie land, cast his lot with Illinois, gave his children to that civilization, and his twenty years of labor to that soil, on what faith did he do it?—on what conditions did he do it? That Illinois, locked up among the lakes and the mountains, was to be his home, and the field of his labor, and the boundary of his pride? No; he did not take the history before he takes another step. He steps by years! (Great merriment.) You see there is a reason for it. The President's policy is, that the Border States must hold out their hands to him. He has held out his hand to them, and said, "Gentlemen, there is the money; will you take it?" They have got to meet in January, and debate whether they will take it. That debate will last two months—till March. He will judge whether they will accept or not. If he thinks they will not, perhaps he will have a new step to take; but you see he must wait a year before he takes another step. The Border States have not had the magnanimity to summon special sessions of their Legislatures to consider that Message. Perhaps that was not possible. They must ripen a public opinion for it. But, at any rate, I believe President Lincoln, at this moment, means to wait until next March before advancing another step. That is very slow progress. I think, if we can nudge him ahead a little, it will be of great advantage. (Merriment.) I think, in the meantime, we should ripen public sentiment, so that, if we cannot move the central power, we can make a flank movement, if you please; we can move our pickets ahead, if you please; we can move our troops ahead, if you please; we can move our main body.

You see, here is Johnson, military Governor in Tennessee; and a gentleman who honored us with his presence yesterday morning, Gen. Saxton, I am told, is to go to South Carolina, as military Governor of that State. How does he go? He goes as the representative of the military power of the President of the United States. It is the first time in our history that it has ever been exercised. This sending a military Governor into a sister State, what does it mean?—what power has he?—how shall he use it? You and I are to exercise our fair share of influence in deciding what the power is, and how he shall use it. Let me suggest one or two considerations to you. How does Gen. Saxton go there? If the State of South Carolina exists, he has no right there. If there is a corporation known by the name of the State of South Carolina to-day in existence, Brig.-Gen. Saxton has no right, in the capacity in which the President sends him, to stand on her soil. Why does he go? He goes on the theory of the Government, that there is no corporation known to the law and styled the State of So. Carolina; that there is no corporation there competent to do an act, competent to pass a law, competent to record a judgment, competent to initiate an election. You know, in the Dorr case, Mr. Webster argued that the people of Rhode Island could not meet and vote, could not even vote the State into existence, unless some recognized legislative body existed in the State to initiate and inaugurate the movement. That is the theory of American institutions. Now, if there exists a corporation known by the name of the State of South Carolina to-day in existence, Brig.-Gen. Saxton has no right, in the capacity in which the President sends him, to stand on her soil. Why does he go? He goes on the theory of the Government, that there is no corporation known to the law and styled the State of So. 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